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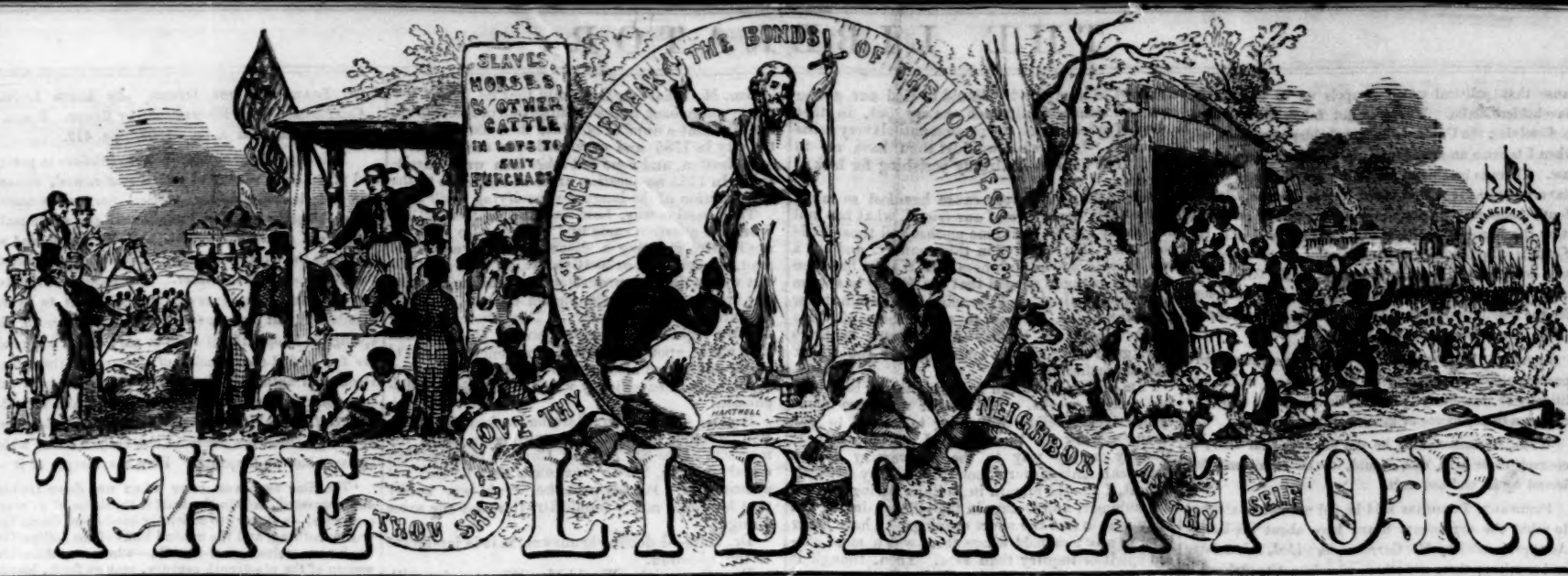
THE LIBERATOR
IS PUBLISHED
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
AT THE
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.
TERMS—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum,
in advance.
Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN
DOLLARS, if payment be made in advance.
All communications to be made, and all letters
relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to
be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.
Advertisements making less than one square in-
serted three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1.00.
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,
Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-
thorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial
Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts
of the paper, viz.—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELIAS GRAY
LORING, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILLIPS, and
WENDELL PHILLIPS.
In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of
every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.
VOL. XXIV. NO. 21.

THE LIBERATOR.

BUSINESS MEETINGS
OF THE
American Anti-Slavery Society.

After the highly interesting public Anniversary of
the Society, held on the morning of Wednesday, May
10, at the church of Rev. Dr. Chapin, the Society com-
menced, in the afternoon of the same day, at 3 o'clock,
its series of meetings for discussion, conversation, and
business, at Hope Chapel Lecture-room.
The President called the Society to order.
It was moved by Rev. S. J. MAY, of Syracuse, N.
Y., and seconded, that a Committee of three persons
be nominated by the Chair, to report the Committees
and other officers needed at this Annual Meeting.
Adopted.
SAMUEL J. MAY, OLIVER JOHNSON, and ASA FAIR-
BANKS, were nominated and chosen said Committee.
Mrs. ARBY KELLEY, of New York, expressed the hope that
a large Committee of forty or more might be chosen,
to hold frequent sessions during this Annual Meeting,
and deliberate upon the large amount of business be-
fore it.
The President replied that arrangements had been
made for meetings similar to those proposed by Mrs.
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Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 26, 1854.

No Union with Slaveholders!
THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.
"Yea! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding
lords of the South proscribed, as a condition of their
admission to the Constitution, three special provisions to
SECURE THE PREEXISTING OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR
SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,
of preserving the African slave trade; the second, was
the stipulation to surrender FUGITIVE SLAVES—an
engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,
delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the enactment, fatal
to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-
sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under
the name of persons. . . . In fact, the oppressor repre-
senting the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-
stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of
mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of
riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the
government of the nation is to establish an artificial
majority in the slave representation over that of the
free people, in the American Congress; and THEREBY
TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-
UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT
OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT."—John Quincy Adams.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.
WHOLE NUMBER 1036.

sentiment. Dr. Spring says a state of servitude is the
best for the black man. The grog-shop keeper says—
'A d—nigger is n't fit for any thing else but a slave.'
The speaker rather preferred to hear it from the grog-
shop than the pulpit—it seemed more natural. This
prejudice could be overcome by the education of a gen-
eration, and anti-slavery mothers should commence
with their children, and take the New Testament as
their guide. It was the best book on the rights of man
that he had ever seen.

The Committee on organization of the meeting re-
ported the following Committees, &c.:—
Committee on Business—Wendell Phillips, Boston;
Lucretia Mott, Philadelphia; Henry B. Blackwell, Cin-
cinnati; Edward M. Davis, Philadelphia; Oliver John-
son, New York; William H. Tappan, Albany; Richard
Glazier, Jr., Michigan; Amy Post, Rochester; S. H.
Gay, Staten Island; Francis Jackson, Boston; Robert
Purvis, Byberry, Pa.; Lydia Mott, Albany; C. L. Re-
mond, Salem, Mass.; Sarah Pugh, Philadelphia; Abby
K. Foster, Worcester; Samuel J. May, Syracuse.

Committee on Finance—Jas. Miller McKim, Phila-
delphia; Rowland Johnson, New York; Susan B. An-
thony, Rochester; J. W. Loguen, Syracuse; Joseph S.
Griffing, Salem, Ohio; Lauren Wetmore, New York.
Committee on Officers for the ensuing Year—Ed-
mund Quincy, Delham, Mass.; Andrew T. Foss, New
Hampshire; Asa Fairbanks, Rhode Island; Edw. Spald-
ing, Connecticut; Piny Sexton, New York; Allen Gar-
rett, Pennsylvania; Jacob L. Brotherton, New Jersey;
Jacob Walton, Michigan.
Assistant Secretaries—Samuel May, Jr. Boston;
Charles S. S. Griffing, Ohio.

After a single amendment, incorporated above, the
Committee's report was unanimously adopted.
Rev. S. J. MAY, of Syracuse, moved that the Semi-
Annual Meeting of the Society, next autumn, be held
in the city of Syracuse, on the 20th and 21st of Sept.
The motion was seconded, and after some remarks,
was unanimously adopted.
OLIVER JOHNSON suggested, as we were to have this
year a report of the Executive Committee, that this
would be a suitable opportunity to hear it, or such por-
tions of it as time would allow.
EDMUND QUINCY said that as the report was quite
voluminous, it had been deemed best by the Executive
Committee to omit its reading now, either in whole or
in part.
Voted, That when we adjourn, it be to meet again
in this place to-morrow, at 9 o'clock; and that the hours
of 9 A. M., 3 and 7 P. M., be assigned as the hours of
assembling at the coming sessions. (It being understood
that the meeting, this evening, is to be a private meet-
ing of Committees, and immediate members of the So-
ciety.)

Mr. GARRISON proposed the following resolution:—
Resolved, That the one grand vital issue to be made
with the Slave Power is, THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EX-
ISTING AMERICAN UNION.

HENRY C. WRIGHT said—I like that resolution very
much. I do not intend to go into a discussion of the
motives which actuated our forefathers in founding
this government. They made the first mistake in call-
ing a convention of Liberty and Slavery to make a
government. There is only one ground where Liberty
and Liberty can meet—that is a battle-ground, and the
battle-cry should be, 'Liberty or Death!' The idea
of Liberty and Liberty living together under the same
government is an utter absurdity, and the issue should
be met in this way by all true friends of the cause.
The founders of the government committed a vital er-
ror in giving the same rights to Liberty and Slavery.
This country denies God, or, if it believes in God,
I do not. According to the common acceptance of the
term, Jesus knew nothing about Christianity. If he
should come to New York, no church would recognize
him, and no pulpit would receive him. Now, can a
follower of Jesus go where his Master would not be
admitted? The name of Christ has become a high
tower, to which all abominations resort. The name
of the Christian's God has become a bulwark of defence
of American slavery, and all the outrages which have
been practised under it. No man's rights can be ascer-
tained by reference to a Bible, a law, or a constitution. I
do not care about any such book or constitution, when
the question of Liberty or Slavery is to be con-
sidered. The mass of the people revere the Constitu-
tion. We should endeavor to do away with this. I
thank God that I am a traitor to that Constitution. I
could not be an honest man, otherwise. I thank God,
also, that I am an infidel to the popular religion of this
country, and of all Christendom. The tendency of our
government is to destroy in the minds of men all ideas
of a true God of love and justice. We desire to dis-
solve the Union, because it gives the same protection to
Slavery as to Liberty. I marvel that our friends in
Congress, Gerrit Smith, Giddings, and others, will sit
down by the side of slaveholders, when they consider
pirates, and with them legislate for the government of
twenty millions of people. What effect can laws passed
by pirates have? The only alternative left for this
country is the utter moral degradation of the people,
or the dissolution of the Union, and the formation of a
new Northern republic. And I should like to see some
practical means adopted to place this matter before the
people. They are ready for it; there is a great feeling
abroad, because they have been so vilely treated by the
present Congress. Following out the same idea, Mr.
Wright said, hypothetically, he would be glad to see
slavery spread over the country, and white men sent
to the market. He would be glad to see Franklin Pierce
sold as a slave.

Mr. QUINCY—Have n't ye? (Great laughter.)
Mr. WRIGHT—The question answers itself. I hope
all editors and others never will say any thing about
slaves nearly white being sold, in order to enhance the
guilt of the act.

Mr. JOHNSON—It is done with a good motive, be-
cause we can more easily reach the hearts of white
people.
Mr. WRIGHT—I never would consent to espouse so
hurtful an error. As far as the atrocity of the act is
concerned, the sale of a black man is the same as that
of a white man.

CHARLES L. REMOND said that he had fallen into
the error mentioned by the speaker; and though he
agreed with him in his opinion, he thought that if all
the blacks should turn white, there would be a mighty
effort made to free them.

Mrs. FOSTER added a few remarks.
AN OUTSIDER—who announced that his name was
LIVINO—came forward and opposed the resolution.
When our Lord said he cast out a devil, he did not
destroy the human body. It is a grievous thing to do
the body. It is the growth of ages, and was put
in force by men superior to those present. He was op-
posed to slavery, but desired to know, if the Union was
dissolved, where the government to replace it was to
come from. He had sworn to protect the Constitution,
and when he heard it assailed, he must defend it.
Mr. GARRISON—I apprehend that our Lord has not
much to do with the Constitution. Our friend has
made some mistakes; but, as the hour is late, we will
postpone the subject till to-morrow.

At six o'clock, the meeting adjourned.

EVENING. A private meeting of members of the So-
ciety was held at Hope Chapel Lecture-room, and plans
for furthering the cause were offered and discussed.

THURSDAY.

The Society assembled, according to adjournment,
and at 10 o'clock, were called to order by the Presi-
dent.
The resolution before the meeting, on the dissolution
of the Union, was read again; and the following was
also reported by the Business Committee:—
Resolved, That an Anti-Slavery conscience which is
bounded by 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, in-
stead of presenting any barrier to the aggressions of
the Slave Power, may be safely disregarded and scoffed
at by the South, as hypocritical in its pretended oppo-
sition to slavery, cowardly in its spirit, and spasmodic in
its action.

Mr. PURVIS, (colored,) of Pa., desired to say a word
in relation to the remarks of Rev. Mr. Furness yester-
day. Mr. Furness said that Mr. Purvis was wealthy
enough to purchase connection with a white skin; but,
with credit to himself, he saw fit not to do so. Now,
said Mr. Purvis, I do not think that anything of this
sort should be said. He was proud of his blood, of the
fact that he had twenty-five per cent. of negro blood in
his veins. He hoped that nothing of the sort would be
said again; of the only character he claimed for himself
was that of an honest man. He knew that it would be
taken up by persons now inimical to the cause. He had
heard that one person, who should be the last to say any
thing against this Society, (Frederick Douglass,) would
have something to say about it in his next paper.

He regretted, also, the remarks of Mr. Garrison in
introducing him to the assembly yesterday, in Dr.
Chapin's church. It entirely disconnected him; he
could not forget himself, nor do justice to the cause. If
there was any one principle which he had learned in
this movement, it was that the rights of individuals—
the rights of man—are not to be varied or adjudged by
the mere color of the skin. He hoped that, henceforth,
no allusion would be made to color.

Mr. MAY, of Mass., apologized for Mr. Furness. That
gentleman never should have called the attention of
the audience to Mr. Purvis so strongly. Mr. Furness
has no color prejudice.

Mr. PURVIS—I do not suppose he has.

Mr. MAY—No; he was speaking to the popular idea.
I also wanted to say something about Mrs. Foster's re-
marks on Mr. Furness's speech. Mr. Furness's speech
was not sufficiently plain, but he meant to say that ev-
ery Christian church should be an anti-slavery church.
He never wished to say any thing to cloak over the sins
of any Society.

S. J. MAY, (N. Y.) hoped that we should hear nothing
more about color. Mr. Furness meant to say that Mr.
Purvis was light enough to pass for a white man, but
not to pass as a colored man. It is certainly
highly creditable to him.

Mr. RENSSLAERE (colored) was glad this explanation
had been made. He felt injured yesterday, but felt
relieved now. He hoped the resolution would now be
taken up.

Mr. GARRISON said he had introduced Mr. Purvis,
yesterday, as a colored gentleman, but it was necessary
for the information of the audience. It was idle to say
we should not make any reference to color, at any time,
—though he agreed it should be done as sparingly as
possible. He fully appreciated the noble spirit which
actuated Mr. Purvis, in making this disclaimer.

Mr. PURVIS thought the allusion was unnecessary
in his case. It was no great compliment to him to say
that he was honest enough to acknowledge his blood.

Mr. GARRISON said that was very well; but though
no person could do anything specially meritorious in
simply discharging his duty, still the award to such in
the 'last great day' is to be, 'Well done, good and
faithful servant.'

Mr. PHILLIPS thought that the time had come when
we should seldom, if ever, make any reference to color;
for when we do so, it excites in the American mind a
prejudice which reconciles it to the outrage done to the
slave, as though it were not done to a man. Let us not
talk of three millions of colored men in bondage, but
three millions of MEN—no matter about their color.
Who are the slaves? They are Americans of the second
generation. The grand-children of Thomas Jefferson are
in slavery in Virginia. The Trévise talks about African
slavery, when it should say American slavery.

Mr. RENSSLAERE (colored) thought it would be diffi-
cult for anti-slavery men to out the color question. The
public sentiment was rising up in favor of the colored
man. He, for one, did not desire to be identified with
the wicked white men of this country.

Mr. PURVIS—I don't think there's much danger of that.

ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS said, he thought the color
of the skin was of very little consequence. Even Mr.
Garrison had some specks upon him when seen through
the medium of the New York Herald. (Laughter and
applause.) Since he had been in the city, he had been
told, in an advisory way, that among his best friends,
and most interested readers of his publications, was a
large and increasing class at the South; that he already
had numerous readers there, and a very large sale for
his publications might easily be secured. All this, he
was told, would be most injuriously affected, if (Mr.
Davis) should take any prominent part in the anti-slavery
movement, and especially if he should identify
himself with the anti-slavery meetings now holding

in this city. Under these circumstances, he had felt it
to be his duty to take the earliest opportunity to ex-
press the deep and entire interest he felt in this move-
ment, and in this Society. His whole mind and heart,
his entire being, led him to identify himself most en-
tirely with the cause. (Loud applause.) So far as he
had real friends at the South, he did not fear that any
of them would be alienated from him by this declara-
tion on his part.

Mr. DAVIS sat down amidst general applause.

Mr. IVINS made a fifteen minutes' speech, in which
he recapitulated all the arguments heretofore used in the
debate.

Mr. H. C. WRIGHT said that the prejudice against
color went further than was generally supposed. If the
colored man desired to worship God according to the
 dictates of his own conscience, he was liable to be shot
down like a beast. So, if he attempted to take his
proper social position, he was liable to be shot down
like a dog. There is no liberty in this land for man as
man. It is not a local—it is a national feeling. They
should be alluded to by us as men and women—no col-
or about it. Mr. Wright wanted to see the prejudice
entirely annihilated.

Mr. GARRISON said a white man could no more be a
Christian at the South than a black man.

J. MILLER MCKIM objected to the frequent repetition
by our speakers of the idea that we are 'infidels.' The
members of the Society understand the meaning of this
admission, but others do not. He denied that there ex-
isted the least ground for the charge, in any correct
sense.

WENDELL PHILLIPS differed from Mr. McKim, to some
extent. He thought that we should, in our papers and
by our speakers, always make it clear, in one of two
ways, that we are far as the poles asunder from the
churches and the religion of this country. We should,
first, either claim that we are the true church, (as did
Luther and Melancthon,) and repudiate the churches,
pulpits, and clergy of the land generally as the heretics,
who were to be excommunicated from the true Christian
body; or, second, proclaim it openly and everywhere,
that we are the infidels, always at the same time mak-
ing it definitely understood that it is to the false, cruel,
pro-slavery religion that we are infidels.

Mr. MCKIM said he differed in some points from Mr.
Phillips, and agreed with him in others. He did not
think it advisable for Mr. Wright, especially, to be
continually ringing the changes upon the words infidel,
God, and the devil.

LOCRETTA MOTT—I have been amused to hear the last
speaker talk about ringing the changes on the word in-
fidel, and then to hear him do so himself. The princi-
ple of this Society was not founded upon any system of
religion. We give evidence of our allegiance to God
by our defence of the rights of man. But she thought
that there was not much danger of this Society being
called infidel, now that they are admitted into a Chris-
tian church, though the Universalists are considered as a
pseudo-Christian denomination; but it is a kind of
compromise. Mrs. Mott had never heard of a pro-
gramme for praying and singing by this Society before.
She thought the meeting should be held for business,
and that the praying should be done at home. This
might seem an infidel suggestion, but Mrs. Mott had
come to care little for the world's opinion. She desired
that the Society should prove its faith by its works.

ABBY KELLEY FOSTER—I shall say nothing of my
views upon the subject; but I say that if there be one
person in the assembly who thinks it inexpedient to
have vocal prayer, and such prayer be arbitrarily ap-
pointed as a portion of the exercises, it is setting aside
the principle upon which this Society was organized.
We have settled the question, that we have no right to
introduce any religious form or service at all into our
proceedings. That principle has been clearly announced
and distinctly set forth; so I hope, from this time
forward, there will be no attempt made to trample upon
the principle upon which we were founded. If an
Episcopalian comes in here, and thinks it can do good
to the cause to read a written prayer, I do not object;
or if the Catholic wants to come here to count his beads,
believing that by so doing he will advance the work, I
will stand by him; or if a Pagan comes here, and wants
to offer some Pagan homage, I will stand by him, if he
be a good abolitionist. (Applause.) But I say that,
should you bind us all to any particular form of reli-
gious exercise, it would be utterly despoite.

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS—Under the statement of
the lady who has just occupied the floor, that any indi-
vidual who has an idea which he or she believes to be
for the furtherance of the purposes of this Society,
should be permitted to be heard here, I believe I fall
within the limits of that definition, if I propound not
so much positive statements of my own, as questions for
those interested in this anti-slavery cause. It seems to
me that this Society would take a much stronger hold
upon the public mind at this day, if it should begin
by establishing the basis on which the claim to human
freedom rests by virtue of a universal principle. I beg
to ask on what scientific basis it is claimed that the
slave has a right to be free? It seems to me that if that
question be answered scientifically and rightly, it will
be an answer which, by its broad generalization of hu-
man rights, will take a greater hold upon the convic-
tions of mankind than the mere opinion of individuals could.

EDWARD M. DAVIS rose to a question of order. He
thought this whole discussion quite irregular. Two res-
olutions had been regularly brought before the Society
at the commencement of this session. Mr. Purvis had
requested leave to make a personal statement, and had
done so. One topic after another had been introduced,
until the morning session was now far advanced.

After a few explanatory remarks by Mr. Andrews
and Mr. Irving, the question of Finance was announced
by the President to be the subject now in order.

WENDELL PHILLIPS said that the great end of the So-
ciety was to support the Anti-Slavery Standard, and
the very few agents they employed. Agents were few
—they could not be made—they grew. He had no wish
to tempt agents into the field; but when the right sort
of man appeared, they had always been able to support
him. The Standard paper was their great expense;
but, if they could not reach men by means of agents,
they could by the types. For that reason, he consid-
ered the building up of anti-slavery papers, and the dis-
tribution of pamphlets, as the best plan to disseminate

the principles of the association. They wanted \$2,500
more than was usually asked, to be expended upon the
Standard, so as to render it an efficient representative
of disunion abolitionism.

Mr. MCKIM and Mrs. FOSTER also spoke on this sub-
ject, and the Finance Committee proceeded to the dis-
charge of their duty.

[The said Committee subsequently reported that the sum
of about \$800 had been raised in cash and pledges.]

Voted, That at the close of this evening's meeting,
the public meetings of the Society be adjourned, sine
die, and that the time to-morrow be devoted to a strict-
ly business meeting of the Executive Committee, and of
the members of this Society and its auxiliaries.
Adjourned to 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON. Met according to adjournment. The
President called to order.

EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee on the officers
of the Society for the ensuing year, reported the follow-
ing names of persons to constitute said officers:—
President—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Vice Presidents—Peter Libbey, Maine; Luther Mel-
lenty, Theodore B. Moses, New Hampshire; Patten Dav-
is, Vermont; Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Mas-
sachusetts; Asa Fairbanks, Rhode Island; James B.
Whitcomb, Connecticut; Samuel J. May, Thomas Mc-
Clintock, Isaac Post, Piny Sexton, New York; Robert
Purvis, Edward M. Davis, Thos. Whitson, Pennsylvan-
ia; Alfred Gibbs Campbell, New Jersey; Thomas
Garrett, Delaware; Thomas Donaldson, William Stead-
man, Joseph Barker, Ohio; William Hoarn, Indiana;
Joseph Merritt, Thomas Chandler, Cyrus Fuller, Michi-
gan; John Wichell, Illinois; James A. Shedd, Iowa;
Caleb Green, Minnesota; Georgiana B. Kirby, Califor-
nia.

Corresponding Secretaries—Edmund Quincy, Syd-
ney Howard Gay.

Recording Secretary—Wendell Phillips.
Treasurer—Francis Jackson.

Executive Committee—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Fran-
cis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Maria Weston Chapman,
Wendell Phillips, Anne Warren Weston, Sydney How-
ard Gay, Eliza Lee Follen, James Russell Lowell,
Charles F. Hovey, Samuel May, Jr., William I. Bowditch.

OLIVER JOHNSON, from the Committee of Arrange-
ments, made an explanatory statement with regard to
the programme. He said: The responsibility of issu-
ing a programme for the proceedings of this Anniversary
rests on me, as having been appointed, with one or
two others in this city, a Committee of Arrangements.
I corresponded with Mr. May, of Boston, and have his
leave to say he shares the responsibility of all that has
been done. There was an objection to the announce-
ment beforehand of a prayer. In this, it seemed to me
there was no departure from our principles. There is
frequently a private understanding with some persons
beforehand, and it seemed proper to put the whole pro-
ceedings in the programme. I regret that any member
was pained; yet I am not persuaded that we have acted
contrary to the principles of the Association.

The resolutions before the meeting

which the former made the other evening at the Tabernacle. He believed in the dissolution of the Union; for he was certain that should "that glorious event take place, and which he would hail with extreme joy, the South would never be able to hold the colored race in bondage. The Union was mean, low, tyrannical, and entirely cowardly, because, through its instrumentality, a dominant majority oppressed an unfortunate minority. If he should glory in anything, it would be that he was in the van of the glorious phalanx that sought to effect the dissolution of the Union. (Loud applause.)

Rev. S. J. MAY, of Syracuse, said—It was observed yesterday, that we came not here so much to make speeches as to take sides; and I come here to take sides with those who go for the dissolution of the Union. (Applause.) In the very inception of this enterprise, I had a deep feeling, and expressed it, as you, sir, [to the Chairman,] was a witness. In the first speech made, I forewarned deeply felt, and said, that this Union would probably have to be dissolved, ere this deep, damning curse of slavery could be effectually removed from amongst us; and then, I said, "Let it be dissolved!" What have we not done in the last twenty years to open the eyes of the people of this country to the wrongs, and mischiefs, and disastrous consequences in every direction flowing from slavery; and what has been the effect? You know that the sentiment upon the subject, favorable to the overthrow of slavery, has been increasing every where. But, is it not still more obvious, that a determination on the part of the slaveocrats to maintain their system at all hazards, has become the fixed, the signal, the sole purpose of their existence? The slaveholders have another advantage over the North. They are practiced politicians from their infancy, and so operate upon our Northern members of Congress for the furtherance of the aims of the South. I have come to feel that nothing can be gained by continued union with the slaveholders. The sooner they are made to feel that we excommunicate Union—that we regard it as a curse to ourselves, and that we long to get rid of it—I think all the sooner will they begin to calculate to themselves the value of the Union. They will come to see that what is a violence to us, is invaluable to them. I go for it on a moral ground alone. We live in a connection that is iniquitous from beginning to end. We are allowing ourselves to be made the tools by which is sustained a system of the most horrible iniquity that the earth has ever supported upon its bosom. Should we not long since have renounced all connection with it? So long as we can individually separate ourselves from it, do so, and act with one accord to bring the people of the North to say, that a union with slaveholders is a union with hell. (Loud applause.)

H. C. WATSON thought that no man could truly realize to himself the condition of, or sympathize with, the slave, unless he first, as it were, put himself into the position of the bondman. The Constitution, looked at from that point of view, was one of the most perfect pieces of diabolism that the depraved ingenuity of man ever devised. He was astonished at Mr. Blackwell standing up, in the face of any one of the oppressed race, and eulogizing the value of the Union. He believed that those Fourth of July orators, who talked so loudly about this country being the refuge of the oppressed and the home of the free, knew, when they uttered such sentiments, that they spoke what was false. The speaker then went on to say, that he had no respect whatever for what this nation calls God. The God of this nation is slavery. Is it not? (Cries of "Yes," "Yes.") Then, I say, he is my devil. And he is in heaven or in earth, he who sanctions slavery, I would, as a slave, say that he is a fiend of perdition. I say to slaveholders, your idea of a God who sanctions slavery rises no higher than my idea of a devil does. Slavery takes refuge in the bosom of what this nation calls "God"; not in the bosom of the God I recognize, but in the God of the church and clergy. And if you pursue the monster to his last refuge, you find him in that bosom; and if you drag him by the horns to the altar, and there slay him, you are termed an atheist. Then I glory in such atheism. (Applause.)

Mr. DORRANCE, of Newark, N. J., said, the question was one of the highest importance. Government was instituted to uphold justice; and the grandest thing in the world was a just man or woman, or government, if there be such a thing. No man (or almost none) is always just; and so the American government is not an embodiment of pure justice. But is it an entire failure to reflect the idea of justice as among the people? If so, it is certainly very short-lived, because it lives by and on the moral sense of the country. But if it be as good as the people, you may destroy the government, and the soul under it will make to itself another body just as bad as the old. You must make a new soul, or you will not get a new body to exist.

Rev. J. W. LOCKER, of Syracuse, (colored,) said he did not, like many others, come here to take sides; he did not long ago, on the plantation in Tennessee, when, in the chain-gang, he thought he would come to be a slave, or die trying. I am (he said) I suppose still a slave in the eyes of the American Government. [Sensation.] I cannot wait for emancipation till all the questions brought in here are decided; I cannot wait till the Union is dissolved. I have, for my own part, already dissolved the Union. [Laughter and applause.] What I want, is that my brethren should do as I have done; they should strike the blow for themselves, and not wait for the hair-splitting of politicians and speakers. I made an abolitionist of my master by whipping him. He used to read the Bible to me, and show me how he that disobeyed his master should be beaten with many stripes; then he would lay on the stripes; and I thought I would try if a few would not be good for him also. However, I did not do it neatly, but took him up bodily, and nearly broke his neck by throwing him on the ground. However, he recovered. The slaves should rise en masse, and assert, at any risk, their inalienable right to personal liberty. He (Logan) was one of the Jerry rescuers, and he was prepared to do anything that was right and just to immediately effect the emancipation of his brethren, and not to wait for doctors of divinity to decide. If he had the power of a god, to infuse into every slave in the land a resolution to rise up to-morrow, and say he should be free, he would do it cheerfully, and not wait for years.

Mr. Logan narrated the sufferings of several members of his family in slavery. He was one of seven brothers and sisters who were sold in their youth by "the man called their father." His mother and all their relatives are now in slavery. Some of the sisters were married, and Mr. Logan described their separation from their children in a manner which seemed to excite the sympathy of the audience.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON said—Much as I respect the memory of the men who fell at Bunker Hill, as much do I respect the warlike sentiments on the part of his race which have fallen from the lips of our friend who has just spoken. But I do not believe in killing any man for any purpose. Those who oppress the slaves are men of war, not of peace. How can I know that his race, if successful, would not oppress in their turn? I cannot trust any man whose spirit is that of war. I believe in the example of Jesus Christ and the noble army of martyrs, but not in retaliation. I cannot conceive how there can be two opinions about this question of dissolution. Is not the Union something real and omnipotent? Never has any political constitution in this country taken the colored race as equal to the white. The Anglo-Saxon race have pursued them with hate. This one fact is conclusive, if we have no other. The Constitution under which we lived dealt more fairly with the colored race; and the people know what they agreed to—understand their own document. All the free States may, if they choose, become slave States to-morrow. "No union with slaveholders, religiously or politically"—that is the banner of our Society. Why not religiously? Because the slaveholders require of us, as a condition of union, that we admit that slaveholding is according to religion. The slaveholder has a God who countenances slaveholding—but that is not my God. Why not politically? Be-

cause that political union compels us to enforce the slaveholders' claim. We have not taken the initiative in dissolving the Union—the slaveholder was before us; when I became an abolitionist, he declared me an outlaw. There is no Union. I do not see the limit which slavery is to have. God does Cuba, Mexico, Brazil, South America, the isles of the ocean, will be gained to it by the strength of the North. With the North, the South is all-powerful; without it, she could not stand as a confederacy, and her fall would be the fall of slavery. I am for the abolition of slavery, and therefore for the dissolution of that Union which is the support of slavery. [Applause.]

LUCKY MOTT said, that if the resolution were passed, the Society would be pledged to no union, politically or religiously, with slaveholders, and thence to no union in commerce or manufactures.

W. L. GARRISON said he did not take that view; of course, those who did, should, to be consistent, feel bound by it, and act on it.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS said he did not rise to attempt to rebut the arguments heard here about the Union. As apprehended by Mr. Garrison, he added, it is a curse and a crime; there are others who do not apprehend it so, and I am among them. In view of the contemptuous manner in which I have been mentioned, I wish to say that I did not speak, as Mr. Remond says I did, disparagingly of Mr. Phillips's remarks. I merely said I did not subscribe to a sentiment uttered yesterday, without mentioning Mr. Phillips's name; I said that political anti-slavery, which was pronounced a failure, was not so. If it were carried out, it would be no failure. This is what I said; if it was wrong, judge ye.

Mr. REMOND—I did understand Mr. Douglass to say that he had recounted; but he said more. In a ridiculous attitude, as well as manner, he said, on the last evening, Mr. Phillips was a bold man.

Mr. G. W. F. MELLE, of Boston, claimed that the U. S. Constitution was anti-slavery.

The two resolutions before the Society were then unanimously adopted.

The following resolution, in regard to the late STREPHEN SMITH, of Syracuse, was presented and advocated by Rev. S. J. May, and unanimously adopted—

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Society be requested to make a record of the death of the late STREPHEN SMITH, of Syracuse; and that he add to it a suitable notice of him as among the first of the people of the city of Syracuse to embrace the anti-slavery cause; to welcome the advocates of that cause to his house; and to expose himself and his property with them to the violations, to which, in the early years of our enterprise, the persons and properties of anti-slavery men were almost everywhere exposed. In the death of that excellent man, this Society has lost one of its earliest friends and most generous contributors.

After some appropriate remarks from Mr. Garrison, respecting the character and services of the late JAMES W. WALKER, of Ohio, the following resolution was unanimously adopted—

Resolved, That in the recent death of JAMES W. WALKER, of Ohio, our cause has lost one of its ablest and most devoted advocates—by whom no sacrifice was deemed too great, no peril too imminent to encounter, no labor too arduous to be done, for its advancement and complete triumph over all opposition; to whom thousands at the West are indebted for their conversion to the principle of immediate and unconditional emancipation; and whose example of moral integrity, and steadfast fidelity to the claims of the enslaved, is worthy of all imitation.

Resolved, That we prefer to our faithful friend and untiring coadjutor, PARKER PILLSBURY, the deepest sympathy of this Society, in view of the serious prostration of his health in a foreign land; and trust that his complete convalescence will be very speedily realized, and he enabled to bear an uncompromising testimony abroad against the damning sin of slavery in our land; and at last be safely returned to his family and friends, and to the field of his conflicts and triumphs.

OLIVER JOHNSON presented the following preamble and resolution—

The Executive Committee being unable to submit to this meeting their Twenty-first Annual Report,

Voted, That they be urgently requested to prepare and publish the same as speedily as possible.

The meetings of the Society were then adjourned, sine die.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Sec. Secy.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Assistant Secretary.

CHARLES S. S. GRIFFITH, Assistant Secretary.

From the Anti-Slavery Bogle.

THE LATE JAMES W. WALKER—LETTER FROM ABY KELLEY FOSTER.

WOLCOTT'S MILLS, (Indiana,) April 25, 1854.

DEAR FRIEND: As I am in a field of labor never before tried by the anti-slavery lecturer, you will not be surprised when I say that it was not till within a few days that the *Bogle* of the 8th inst. came into my hands. When my eye rested on the letter from New Lyme, announcing the sudden death of our gifted and devoted J. W. Walker, I felt that it could not be, and I sought to find how, and still again. But still I could not bring myself to believe the dreadful intelligence. Since then, a few days have passed, and as I got no later paper, and am here among those who have never known our friend, and therefore cannot sympathize with me, I must speak of him to you. It will relieve me, ever since he threw himself into the anti-slavery cause, I have valued him highly, and considered his services above all price. But I have never seen so much of him, and therefore I have been able so fully to appreciate him, as during the past winter. We attended several Conventions with him in Michigan. Mr. Foster and myself were equally surprised and delighted to find how powerful a speaker he was. We often remarked to our friends, that he had made greater improvement within the three last years, than any other person within the circle of our acquaintance. Not unfrequently his power over his audiences was absolutely irresistible. He carried friends and foes all along together, whether they would or no, and compelled them to do homage to his cause. After such triumphs, my husband would go to his chamber, and when we were alone, say to me, that he felt that he was never made for a public speaker. He realized so deeply his lack of ability, when listening to such eloquence. For myself, I always felt that the one talent must not be withheld from such a work as must be performed before the slaves shall be free.

Yet one word about his spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice. I need not speak of more than one instance, to illustrate this trait in his character. His family was large. He was in need of funds. Still, when, last winter, an offer of \$18 per week, with all expenses borne, was made him, to accompany a *Diorama* of Uncle Tom's Cabin, as delineator, he declined the offer, though he was then receiving after the rate of \$500 per year, and bearing his own travelling expenses, as agent of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society. We must remember that he only lectured a part of the year, and received pay only for the time he lectured. Again, his health was poor, and his lecturing labors were far, very far more severe than was the labor of delineating. But he decided that he could be more useful in the former than in the latter service, and therefore declined what would have been to him more than double the salary he was then receiving.

The last time I saw him, he was full of hope and bright anticipations—laying plans for his family, and for the advancement of the cause to which he had so long and ardently devoted himself. The Michigan friends were urging him to remove there. How much they were all expecting of him! Yes, how much we were all expecting of him! How often, as I have lain my weary head on my pillow, and felt how little I could endure now, compared with former years, have I thanked God that our friend, instead of failing, was strengthening and increasing in ability. And is it possible he is called away! Oh, who shall rise to fill his place in the great warfare for freedom! Let our young friends answer this question. How much talent is

trapped in a napkin! Would to God our young men and women would cry out, in that agony of spirit which the present anti-slavery crisis demands, "Lord, what wouldst thou have me to do!" The harvest is already perishing for lack of reapers.

But, if the anti-slavery cause has lost so much in the early departure of our friend, what has not his family lost! That lone mother and those little children! No relatives in this country, and but a small circle of acquaintances. Mr. Walker has been so much engaged abroad that his family has been very much retired, and therefore can have but few acquaintances. He was to them their all. My heart bleeds for them. Anti-Slavery lecturers don't grow rich. Don't let us forget the widow and the fatherless.

I am still in Northern Indiana, having been here some eight weeks. Mr. Foster was here about three weeks, before returning to attend to our spring's work on the farm. I am to leave next Monday on my way to the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Did my strength permit, I should remain in Indiana during the entire summer, and lecture in the villages during the busy season and the short evenings. I have never been in any new field where there was a more congenial spirit of inquiry than here. There, though it is a newly settled section, and therefore possessed of little wealth, it puts to shame many of our older fields, in its generous contributions to a fund to be appropriated to the diffusion of our glorious principles within this State. Nearly \$200 have been put into our hands for the treasury, and upwards of eighty anti-slavery papers have been procured for the people. At large, are eager to investigate the whole question, and I doubt not, that Indiana will be as ready to wipe out the black code as was Ohio, when the American Society shall have done in her what was done in Ohio some eight years since. The further we go South, the greater will be the opposition of our cause, as there we find so large an admixture of the "poor trash," which, with all its moral and intellectual degradation, slavery, after cursing with its heaviest curses, has crowded north of the Ohio. Still, there is a sufficiently large element of intelligence in the northern and central States, when called into action by a thorough agitation to rally to the State of its exorable black code. After the coming harvest, we must have a large corps in Indiana.

In sorrow yet in hope,

Yours very truly, A. K. FOSTER.

The following Resolutions were passed by the Executive Committee of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, at a meeting held at Adrian, May 7th—

Resolved, That we have heard with emotions of deep grief, of the death of our valued friend James W. Walker, whose society and labors among us during the past few years have left an impression not to be effaced by time.

Resolved, That in relation to another sphere of our indefatigable and devoted fellow-laborer has left a void in the anti-slavery ranks which cannot soon be replaced; and in the silencing of that eloquent voice, we feel the slave has lost one of his most effective advocates.

Resolved, That we tender to the bereaved and afflicted family of our friend, our warmest and heartiest sympathy, assuring them that they have been the objects of our daily thoughts, and that from our knowledge of the man and the friend, we can in some degree appreciate their loss of the husband and the father.

From the Philadelphia Register.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CONVENTION.

The following rule of the regulations was called up, according to notice given to the Convention on Tuesday, for the purpose of having it repealed:

It is hereby declared that the African Church of St. Thomas is not entitled to send a clergyman or deputies to the Convention, or to interfere with the general government of the Church, this condition being made in consideration of the peculiar circumstances of such church, at present.—*Journal*, June, 1848.

No church in this diocese, in like peculiar circumstances with the African Church, shall be entitled to send a clergyman or deputies to the Convention, or to interfere with the general government of the church.—*Journal*, 1848, p. 33.

The Rev. Mr. Spackman had always been opposed to the admission of this church, but he had changed his views in reference to the matter. He thought its members would be benefited morally, and as Christians, he admitted them to seats in the Convention. He did not believe they had an indefensible right to seats on this floor, and he would not therefore make an appeal to the sympathies of the Convention in their behalf, but he thought they would be greatly benefited. He could not see that public good would be served by an refusal to admit them.

The memorial from St. Thomas's Church, asking for the repeal of the 8th section, as given above, was then read.

Rev. Dr. Howe opposed the repeal of the article. He could not see how those attached to St. Thomas's Church would suffer by being excluded. He was fearful that, if they were not by representation, they would suffer more than at present. He could not conceive that this Diocese should be influenced by the Convention of New York.

The Rev. Mr. Beasley advocated the repeal of the article, and thought when a church complied with all the conditions of the Convention, it should be permitted to have representation.

Dr. Howe did not consider that the church had complied with all the requisites.

Rev. Dr. Hare thought the eighth rule which excluded the Clergymen of the St. Thomas Church, was opposed to the ecclesiastical spirit of the Convention. He said that the church, even while clerical members of that church had been excluded and disfranchised. He was sorry to say that such was the fact. He said complaints were made everywhere of the want of moral and mental culture of this degraded race.

He believed it to be a mere outward degradation, and that there was no way opened for them. No road to enlightenment or to position, and therefore they had no incentive to do good. St. Thomas's Church does not ask to come among us on an equality, socially, but as members of Christ's Church, and if we granted them this favor, they would feel elevated, and we should be less likely to find them cast away in character. No one could deny but that the tendency of the 8th rule was to prevent the erection of other African Churches. They would go to other denominations. The Baptists and the Methodists admitted them into an ecclesiastical equality. He was therefore in favor of the repeal of the article.

Rev. Dr. Howe stated that six laymen could have seats in the Convention, unless they had parochial connections with their Churches. The six laymen of St. Thomas had no such connection. He said that the charter of St. Thomas's Church forbade the admission of any who were not members of the church, and he said that he would not represent them, but it was his high reason to adopt rules here for their exclusion.

The Rev. J. M. Douglas addressed the Convention in favor of the repeal. He referred to the primitive church to show the colored men an equality, socially, and also to the Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are born free and equal. They proceeded from the same Father, and should be redeemed in the same way. They were admitted to the same orders in the church, and partook of the same sacrament; why, then, should they be excluded from seats in this body? He hoped all would vote for the admission.

Cries of "question" were now raised from all parts of the house.

The Rev. Mr. Newton considered it to be his duty to advocate the question of rights, in the sight of God. Christ had said, "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, he shall remain in my love, and I will that he may abide in me, and my Father will abide in him, and I will that he may bring forth much fruit to the glory of the Father." They had finished, they would discuss the ground on which they are excluded is merely because of their peculiar situation, and because they are morally degraded. He did not believe they would ever rise to an equality with those sitting here, but that any reason that we should withhold, in our corporate capacity, anything that would be likely to elevate their position? The action here is making their condition more dark and damning. He could not look upon that revised regulation without feeling shame that he belonged to a church that said to this down-trodden race—"You cannot rise, and we shall not rise while we keep you down." We shall have no rest here until this question is settled, for there are members here who feel it to be their duty to agitate it until the question takes a different course from the present.

Geo. M. Wharton, Esq., said that he felt it necessary to go back to the organization of the church. He said that a number of men were assembled in the city in 1785 and organized our ecclesiastical organization, and none but white men were admitted. In 1785 no question arose in reference to the construction of the language specifying white men.

The question was, how was the matter settled when the question came up? It came up upon an application granting a dispensation to a colored man, who claimed ordination, which was granted, but with a distinct understanding that neither he nor his successor in office should ever be admitted to seats in this Convention. This, therefore, settled the right without controversy. The exclusion then rested upon the point of expediency, and not of right, and it had also been so regarded. Therefore the subject of expediency was a fair subject of discussion.

He said the Rev. Dr. Hare had asked the question, whether they were willing to admit the members of the St. Thomas Church to perfect social equality, but he was sure that he had not answered it. For his part, he would say boldly that he would not. Would Dr. Hare say the same thing?

Dr. Hare—I decline to answer, as it is irrelevant to the question.

Rev. Dr. Smith—Would Mr. Wharton be willing to admit every white man on a footing of equality? Mr. Wharton—I would not, as a matter of expediency. He continued by saying that he looked upon the blacks as unfit to legislate for themselves, and when we admit them here, we allow them to legislate for us. He looked upon them as being in a state of tutelage, and totally unqualified to take care of themselves. He said the Rev. Mr. Douglas was administering to a congregation that was not in union with this Convention, and he was therefore in the same position with the Rev. Mr. Lightfoot.

Rev. Dr. Hare rose to make an explanation. He said that St. Thomas's Church was in union, but was excluded from sending deputies to this Convention. The Doctor quoted from the journal of 1794, to show that the church was in union, having been organized in accordance with the rules of the Episcopal Church.

Mr. G. M. Wharton contended that the passages quoted by Dr. H. proved that the applicants then considered themselves in a state of tutelage. They were received in the fellowship of the church, and in communion, but not in the Convention, by their deputies. A colored minister was ordained over them by the Bishops, but on the ground that although the Bishops and Clergy discharged the duties of the church to colored congregations, yet in no way can it be shown that they have any admitted claim to send deputies to legislate for the church and the diocese.

The Rev. Mr. Henry S. Spackman again spoke at length in favor of the repeal, and the admission of the deputies from the church of St. Thomas, to seats in the Convention. The real question was not so much one of social familiarity, as whether it was not for the advancement of the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ, to admit colored churches to equal privileges with our own, and therefore to seats by their representatives.

Their participation in the proceedings would never injure the legislation of the Church. It would elevate the colored members in their own esteem, and in every way advance them morally, religiously and intellectually. It was now expected to do what was expedient formerly.

Judge Strong contended that the extracts which had been read from the records of the Church of St. Thomas proved that the Church in question was *ipso facto*, in union with the Church, and therefore with the Convention.

The vote was then taken on the motion to lay the resolution on the table, but after a vote was taken, a division was called for, but the Convention adjourned until 5 o'clock before the question was settled.

Evening Session.—The Convention re-assembled at 5 o'clock. The Bishop announced the first business of the day to be the vote upon the motion to lay on the table the resolution in reference to the admission of St. Thomas African Church.

The motion to lay on the table was withdrawn, and the vote was then taken by yeas and nays, and by orders, on the resolution to rescind the 8th rule of the revised regulations. The vote resulted as follows—yeas 70, and 27 nays of the clergy. Laidy—74 churches voted as follows—22 yeas, and 41 nays. So the resolution to rescind was lost.

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON, MAY 26, 1854.

THE NEBRASKA BILL PASSED—ANOTHER TRIUMPH OF THE SLAVE POWER.

The deed is done—the Slave Power is again victorious. On Monday, the U. S. House of Representatives took up the Nebraska Bill, after several ineffectual attempts to defer or delay it on the part of its opponents. Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, moved his substitute for the Bill (being the same as the Senate Bill, with the exception of Mr. Clayton's amendment), and moved the previous question. Great excitement followed, but the substitute was adopted—yeas 115, nays 90. The Bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading—yeas 117, nays 90. It was then read a third time, and at 11 o'clock at night was passed by the following vote—yeas 118, nays 100. And, against the strongest popular remonstrance—against an unprecedented demonstration of religious sentiment—against the laws of God and the rights of universal man—in subversion of plighted faith, in utter disregard of the scorn of the world, and in purposes as diabolical as can be conceived of or perpetrated here on earth—the deed is accomplished. A thousand times accursed be the Union which has made this possible!

N. E. ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Annual Meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Boston, in the MELODEON, on TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 30th and 31st, and June 1st, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

All the popular religious anniversaries, which are to be held in this city next week, sink into insignificance in comparison with this Convention. Nay, almost without an exception, they are as devoid of vitality as rocks are of sensibility, and exert no power to save the nation from impending destruction. To them, the slave may not look for sympathy or succor; in them, the slaveholder finds his strongest allies. The hope of Freedom rests not upon religious sects or political parties, but upon individual conscience, resolution, self-sacrifice. We hope to be able to record, that never has there been held in Boston so large, so spirited, and so auspicious a Convention as the one to which all eyes are now turned. The tone of the resolutions and speeches must be stirring, solemn and grand—and the one keynote struck, this, only this—NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS! A FREE NORTH FOR FREE MEN!

The following, among others, will be present, to take part in the discussions—WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDMUND QUINCY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, REV. THOMAS PARKER, REV. T. W. HIGGINSON, REV. S. J. MAY OF SYRACUSE, LUCY STONE, REV. T. FOSK, CHARLES L. REMOND, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, and HENRY C. WRIGHT.

NEW YORK ANNIVERSARY.

The anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at New York, was extremely auspicious and cheering. The utmost unanimity of sentiment prevailed, on the most radical issues, and the largest liberty of speech was enjoyed without molestation. The life of the anti-slavery movement is embodied in that Society and its auxiliaries, as contrasted with all other organizations; and this fact is no where better understood than at the South.

For the sketch of the discussion at the Business Meetings, (the proceedings of which occupy so large a portion of our present number,) we are indebted mainly to the New York Herald, which paper, while it teems editorially with the foulest abuse and misrepresentation, usually makes the fullest report of any other paper, as to what is said and done at our anniversary. Of course, this sketch is meagre and imperfect.

THIS, THAT, AND THE OTHER. By ELLEN LOUISE CHANDLER. With Illustrations by ROWSE. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1854. pp. 412.

This is a volume of miscellaneous effusions in poetry and prose, on a variety of topics, sentimental, romantic, and descriptive—the poetical portion commonplace, the prose genial and unaffected—the whole making a very pleasant, readable book for those who sit beneath the trees in summer, or turn the leaves beside the cottage-hearth in winter. The author is reputed to be only nineteen years old, and wishes it to be remembered that her flowers are only violets of the spring, and hopes therefore to be pardoned if her readers fail to find the splendor of summer, or the mellow ripeness of autumn. One of her essays is a poor satire upon the Woman's Rights movement, and indicates a lack of mental independence and moral self-respect, or else profound ignorance of the subject about which she scribbles so flippantly. Here is a sample of it—

"Time may soon come when we, down-trodden and oppressed, held in the fearful thrall of so many centuries—a slavery to which the bondage of Uncle Tom was as nothing, and the myriad links of the Lilliputians as weak as a melted snow-mass—when we, American women of the nineteenth century, may go forth, leaving home and friends in charge of our worse and weaker halves, marshalling the bright-eyed ranks of our emancipated women, carrying the election with a rush, dispossessing of cabinet appointments as freely as cast-off dresses, and going home, at last, to make a further display of our magnanimity in our utter disregard of such minor inconveniences as unwelcome rooms, unkempt hair, smudged children, muddy coffee, and the burst of very dry dust."

O, let us rejoice in our exalted destiny—we, the regenerators of the world, the saviors of our nation! Don't breathe it, for worlds, Mrs. Jellyby; but, if you can stop to be guilty of such a masculine vice as curiosity, I'll tell you what I thought, before I was awakened to my duty, as with a clang of a trumpet, by the bold words and high thoughts of Mr. Andrews, Miss Kelley, and other patriots and patriarchoes, who lead the van in our glorious battle for the right."

Don't whisper to me that I may please, dear Mrs. Jellyby, because you know it might mislead the ambassador's appointment I am so anxious to obtain under the first female President!

You know I am reformed now; but I did use to think woman's noblest sphere was home—her dearest right, the right to make bright flowers of home and heart spring up and blossom in some dear one's path."

This is a witless caricature. If men can find time to discharge their political responsibilities, without hindrance to their agricultural, mechanical and professional pursuits, why may not women also, without detriment to their home duties as wives and mothers? Popular elections are not frequent. It is as easy to cast a vote as it is to buy a yard of ribbon, and will take no more time; and if all the officer in the land, governmental, judicial and legislative, were filled exclusively with women, not a woman would be missed from the household, any more than so many drops from the flowing river. Millions of mothers, wives, daughters and sisters would still be left to look after family affairs—to sew on buttons, darn stockings, do the mending, &c.—to make bright flowers of home and heart spring up and blossom in some dear one's path."

It is pitiable to see this young woman indulging in the strain of Bennett's *Herald*, in reference to a movement second to no other in importance, indispensable to the regeneration of the world, and worthy of universal cooperation. She is yet to have her soul imbued with the spirit of reform—to understand and appreciate the dignity of her own nature—to see that she cannot innocently ignore the equality of the human race, without regard to sex, and that rights are given to be enjoyed, not trampled upon or thrown away. We advise her to read the proceedings of the various Woman's Rights Conventions that have been held in the country—to look into the legal and social condition of her sex in all lands—to become acquainted, as far as practicable, with the prominent advocates of the movement—and then to sit down and write as foolish and slanderous an article as the one we are criticising—if she can.

HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA, from its Discovery to the Present Time; comprising also a full description of its climate, surface, soil, rivers, towns, bears, birds, fishes, state of its society, agriculture, commerce, mines, mining, &c. With a journal of the voyage from New York, via Nicaragua, to San Francisco, and back, via Panama. With a new map of the country. By E. S. CAPRON, Counsellor at Law. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. Cleveland, Ohio: Jewett, Proctor & Worthington. 1854. pp. 356.

Such is the wide-spread interest in every thing pertaining to California—so many hundreds of thousands of persons in the old States have relatives and friends, and interests at stake, in that wonderful region—that this book cannot fail to obtain a wide circulation. Its author states that he proceeded to California in 1853, as the commercial agent of several extensive mercantile houses in New York City. In the discharge of the duties of his commission, he visited the principal cities and villages of the State, and communicated with persons of the different professions, trades and occupations. He also traversed various parts of the mining regions, and sojourned with the miners, among their valleys and mountains. Every opportunity was improved to collect reliable information, from intelligent citizens and authentic records in the public offices, respecting all the important interests of the State, and particularly of its mining, commercial and agricultural interests. At several of the old missions, he met well-informed individuals, who had long resided in the country, from whom he learned many interesting facts relating to its primitive history, and the customs and institutions of its early inhabitants. Under these circumstances, he has been enabled to prepare an interesting and valuable work—accompanying it with a very neatly executed map of the modern El Dorado.

Memoir of Butler Wilmarth, M. D.; one of the Victims of the late terrible Railroad Catastrophe at Norwalk Bridge, Ct.; with Extracts from his Correspondence and Manuscripts. By WILLIAM H. FISH. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. New York: Fowlers & Wells. 18

For the Liberator.

A DREAM ABOUT LIBERTY.

I dreamed I sought for Liberty, that I might ask her, 'Will
A free-born Senate dare to pass that black Nebraska bill?
If o'er that lovely country the bloody stripes shall wave,
And her free soil be made to hold the crushed, heart-
broken slave?'

But to my great astonishment, I could not find her when
I sought among the markets and daily haunts of men,
For no one seemed to know her, save by the empty
name.

And that she changed so often, it never was the same.

I went back to the ancient days of 1775,

But of spirits that had cherished her, there was not
one alive:

To Concord and to Bunker Hill, and to its sis, a sis,
The dock in Boston harbor where she had taken tea.

I looked into her cradle, in brave old Faneuil Hall,
Where, when she used to cry aloud, Europe gave back
the howl;

But on the very platform just where she used to stand,
A wise man preached against her, with the Bible in his
hand.

She was not in the churches, for there I heard the views
Of those exalted heights, who slept in the richest pews;

And seeking her on Plymouth Rock, where the fathers
led from sin,

I found the iron entered there, for they had fenced
it in.

In the halls of legislation, when I asked the gifted
speaker

If he could tell me where she was, or where to go and
seek her,

He didn't even seem to know, and, what's more, didn't
care.

For if such a person ever lived, she never had been
there.

I travelled to the sunny South, that I might chance
to see

The whole of our so truly named 'Home of the brave
and free';

And in our country's history might read the truthful
sequel

Of that romance we all believe, 'All are born free and
equal.'

'Twas there I found poor Liberty, in sad distress and
want,

Beneath the scorching sun and whip, hoeing the
cotton plant;

Her laurel wreath all faded, her glories all laid low,
And in the place of her proud staff she grasped a heavy
hoe.

Trembling with fear, I woke,

And loud my conscience spoke,

How long shall these things be?

And Faith thus answering me:

Returned this message back:

'There is a power above,

That rules us all in love;

He hears the ravens when they cry,

And shall the helpless negro die,

Because he too is black?'

Concord, Mass. ALICE BAILEY.

For the Liberator.

ISAAC T. HOPPER.

The friend of Man: Oppression's foe!

In him a virtuous man we see;

His lengthy pilgrimage below,

From guilt and sin seemed nearly free.

To whisper hope, and comfort bring,

From wealth's proud halls to cottage hearth,

And all around contentment flung—

This was his mission here on earth.

Where vice and misery were found,

And virtue shed no friendly ray,

There you could hear his footsteps sound,

There you could trace his glorious way.

The prisoner, in his grated cell,

New courage took, when he appeared;

And his kind words like dew-drops fell

On hearts which guilt and sin had seared.

And men, by fellow-men oppressed,—

Felt safe, if they his care could gain;

And fugitives around him pressed,

To learn the way to Freedom's plain.

No worldly honors did he seek,

But strove to do his Maker's will;

He spent his strength to help the weak,

And thus his Lord's commands fulfil.

No buildings grand in shape were hung,

When his eyes closed in their last sleep;

No bells with solemn pace were rung,

But all the poor did mourn and weep.

Then let us to his example heed,

And let our strength to good be given;

And when from earth we shall be freed,

Be worthy to meet him in heaven.

Hubbardston, Mass. K.

THE LITTLE GIANT OF THE WEST.

From an unpublished poem, entitled, 'The Nebraska-
kind: or, Young America unhorsed in the Presidential
Race.'

When Illinois' little giant

Sought to bear the prize away,

With airs tremendously defiant,

At all times bold and uncompromising,

He shook his locks in awful majesty,

And seemed to fill immensity,

And raised his voice to notes so loud and dread,

That he himself was filled with emotion,

And he raved, and foamed, and dashed like the ocean,

So he clenched his fists, and shook his head,

That Jove on Olympus shrunk back in dismay.

But when in thunder tones the people spoke,

In stern rebuke and withering scorn,

The little giant felt the fatal stroke,

And cursed his natal home.

He saw in Kansas' wild domain

The grave of his ambition;

He read on vast Nebraska's plain

The fate of little giants slain—

The type of his perdition.

He heard a burning shame,

An image dangling from the trees,

Or crackling in the flame,

His soul affrights, while little sprites

Dance attendance round him;

And with fantasies confound him,

Like shadows from the spirit world,

Judas and Arnold,—base traitors of old,—

Who sold cause and country for office and gold,

The black flag of treason unfurled—

Claiming kindred with all traitors,

Foes of God, and freedom haters.

In dire distress, the little giant tore his flowing hair,

And smote his breast like one distressed;

With piteous moans and doleful groans

He sank into despair.

Alas! he cried, 'I've missed the dazzling prize,

And sought but misfortune's wait me;

With heart-felt contempt all patriots despise,

And even the demagogues hate me.

How hard is my lot! What a terrible fate!

But still I have one consolation;

If I cannot repose in the chair of the State,

And gather up laurels, and make myself great,

Why, then, I will rule my plantation.'

MARRIAGE AND PARENTAGE.

What subject is of more importance to the well-being
of the human race than that of MARRIAGE AND PARENT-
AGE? Yet how few there are who give it any serious
consideration! But the time for its universal improve-
ment, and its strict personal application, has come.
The work recently published in Boston, entitled, 'MAR-
riage and Parentage, or, The Reproductive Element
in Man, as a Means to his Elevation and Happiness,' by
HENRY C. WRIGHT, is worthy of the widest circulation
and the most attentive perusal. It may be obtained of
BELA MARSH, 9 Franklin street. Read the following
extract, as a specimen of the work.

EXISTENCE OF CHILDREN:

TO WHOSE AGENCY IS IT TO BE ATTRIBUTED?—WHO IS
RESPONSIBLE FOR IT?—A FATAL POPULAR ERROR.

Three topics present themselves in all inquiries
into human life and destiny, i. e., EXISTENCE, OR-
GANIZATION, DEVELOPMENT. Whose agency con-
trols these, in regard to children? The preceding
pages show that the responsibility for their organiza-
tion and development, previous to birth, rests on
the parents. The question arises, Who is respon-
sible for the child's EXISTENCE? To ask the ques-
tion, is to answer it. The agency that gives exist-
ence to a child is as obvious as that which
ploughs the field, plants the seed, tends the crop,
and gathers in the harvest. We know the child is
the result of an act of the parents.

Yet, through some strange perversion of their
moral nature, parents feel no more responsibility
for the existence of their children, than for that of the
sun. The first earnest inquiry of the child is,
'Who made me?' Over nothing do children pon-
der with more seriousness and wonderment. The
answer is generally given in children's Catechisms.
The first question is, 'Child, who made you?'
'God,' is the answer.

This is usually regarded as the first element of
a religious education. Those who have not been
taught this are counted Heathen and Atheists.
Why? Not because they have not been taught to
tell the truth, to be sincere, honest, faithful,
loving and kind, but because they are not taught to
utter what every man and woman must know to be
untrue. Parents who have not taught their chil-
dren this untruth, are considered cruel to their off-
spring. Many an exclamation of surprise and pity
have I heard over children, who, when asked who
made them, have answered, 'I don't know.'

I heard a little boy hold the following conversation
with his school-teacher:—

Teacher. Do you know any thing about God?

Child. No. Who is he?

T. Did your father and mother never tell you
about God?

C. No; they don't know him. I never saw
him at our house.

T. Poor child! Did they never tell you who
made you?

C. Yes, many times. They say I grew in the
garden, and that they found me there.

T. I must tell you that God made you.

The child was puzzled at this solution of the
mystery of his being, no less than by that of his
parents, and asked—

Child. Who is God? Where is he? I want to
see him, if he made me.

Teacher. What do you want to see him for?

C. Did God make little girls, too?

T. Yes; God made all children. Why do you
want to see him?

C. I want to ask him why he didn't give her
eyes like mine. She never could see any thing.
Did God make her blind?

T. Yes; God never gave her eyes, as he did
you, to see all the pretty things there.

C. Then I don't like him. Where is he? I
want to see him, and tell him I don't like him.

T. Poor, lost child! How neglected!

In the same school was a little girl, some three
years old, of whom the teacher asked—Jane, who
made you?

Child. I grew on a rose bush.

Teacher. No, my child, you did not grow on a
rose bush. Rose bushes bear roses, not chil-
dren.

C. Yes, I did; for mother calls me her rose
bud, and says she found me on a rose bush.

T. Poor child! Did she not tell you that she
found you on a rose bush?

C. No, he didn't; mother says I grew on a
rose bush.

T. Dreadful! Shocking cruelty!

'Why, said a visitor, 'what have they done?'

T. Nothing; not even taught her who made
her.

Visitor. They feed and clothe her well, and evi-
dently inculcate kind and loving feelings and
principles; and the child looks very happy and
contented.

T. But they have not even taught her that God
made her. She has no idea whence she came.

F. But she has; she thinks she came from a
rose bush.

T. But all know that is not true.

F. What would you tell her?

T. The truth, at once: that God made her.

F. But do you not know that is not the truth,
and that God had no more to do in the creation of
that child, than he would have in its death, if its
parents were to give it poison?

T. I admit that what you say is according to
the facts of Reproduction. Children do derive ex-
istence from their parents.

F. Why not tell them so? When you say to that
child, 'God made you,' your words convey to her
mind an untrue, as really as do the words of her
mother, when she says she grew on a rose bush.

Thus, in the first step of what is called a reli-
gious education, children, instead of being direct-
ed to know facts, are led off into the regions of
romance, and a fiction is presented to them as a
fact. Instead of directing their minds to realities,
which would, at once, satisfy their curiosity, and
set them at rest on the rock of truth, they are sent
off into the world of fancy, in search of one to
whom they owe existence. From this false start-
ing-point, they are led on, step by step, into the
dark, intricate ways of an infinite romance, until
they lose sight of the facts of their being, and are
prepared to receive as literal truth, the most ab-
surd and monstrous fictions. It is cruel thus to
abuse the minds of children, when they so much
more readily apprehend facts than fiction, and ap-
preciate truth than falsehood. An untruth is ever
hurtful to the human soul.

The following conversation took place, in the
presence of a Minister and a Layman.

Layman. What do you regard as the essential
element of a pious education?

Minister. To know whence we came, what we
are, and whither we go.

L. I like to go. What a child says you, 'Who
made me?' What would you say to him?

M. That God made him, of course.

L. A friend of mine had a child three months
old. It had some pain in the stomach. The moth-
er gave it some purgative. It went to sleep, and
never awoke. Who killed that child?

M. The mother.

L. True; but what difference in the agency of
God in the creation of that child and its death?

God established a law, by which life resulted, in
one case, by an act on the part of both parents;
and death, in the other, by an act of the mother.

M. True; but God did not give the poison.

L. Nor was it the act of God from which that
child originated. Are men and women responsible
for the intended results of their own acts?

M. Certainly. If a man strikes another, in-
tending the result to be death, he is responsible
for that result, and ought to be so regarded and
treated.

L. Is not the existence of this child the result
of a human act, as truly as the death of him who
was struck on the head?

M. It is.

L. Why, then, deceive the child, by teaching
him to hold God responsible for his existence? Why
not refer him to the visible authors of his being,
and teach him to hold his father and mother
solely responsible? In all common things, you
refer natural results to natural causes; but here,
you introduce an unseen, fictitious cause, to account
for a most common phenomenon, the result of hu-
man agency.

M. But God connected the existence of the
child with an act on the part of the parents.

L. In the same sense has he connected death
with the use of poison; yet you say, the moth-
er killed the child,—ignorantly, to be sure,
but she killed it. When you teach a child to cast

on God the consequence of a human act, your
teachings are untrue and most injurious. Better
teach nothing, than a falsehood. There is more
piety in leaving a child in ignorance of the au-
thors of his being, till his own soul shall render
the true answer, than to tell him God is respon-
sible for his existence.

M. But would you have parents explain to their
child on the laws of reproduction?

L. If you tell them any thing, tell them the
truth.

M. But would they understand it?

L. As well as they do the laws of reproduc-
tion among animals and flowers; as well as adults
can.

M. But adults can understand the distinction
of sex, and its use.

L. Children can understand this as soon and
as well as they can any facts respecting their phy-
sical nature. The process of reproduction is ever
going on in their presence. It is much more sat-
isfactory and beneficial to children to be instructed
in the facts of this process, than to cast a mist
about this most important but most common of hu-
man functions, and attempt to satisfy their curios-
ity by falsehood.

M. But in doing this, we must call their at-
tention to the distinction between male and female, and
its object.

L. True. What then? This distinction is
known to children early in life. All animated
nature teaches them on this subject. Unconscious
of impropriety, they freely and innocently speak
of it, till chided by parents and others, and made
to feel and think this most common of all Nature's
works, and more intimately connected with the el-
evation or destruction of the human race than any
other, must never be spoken of by parents, or by
brothers and sisters, except in secret, and then,
only in a whisper, and even then, only by males
to males, and females to females. Their being
taught to feel and think with purity and respect
about this, were true and elevating influences
brought to bear upon them. But now, the man-
ner in which parents, and others, generally think
and speak on this subject, is so false and debas-
ing, that it seems a miracle that any child can es-
cape the wreck of his moral nature in reference to
this distinction, and its natural and ennobling use.

Of all relations, this is the most absorbing, and
designed to be the most happy and ennobling; yet,
it is looked upon as almost the only forbidden topic
between parents and children. How many chil-
dren are taught by parents to know the nature of
this distinction, and its object? Not one in a
hundred.

M. But would it not tend to excite the pas-
sions of children, and to ruin the moral purity of
their hearts and lives? Even without such in-
struction, we see how soon they take to practices,
both solitary and social, that ruin their bodies as
well as their minds. How ruinous, then, to teach
them these matters!

L. Precisely in proportion to their ignorance
on this matter will they, early in life, have their at-
tention called to this distinction, and they will ask what
it means. They will, generally, from some source,
early in life, make some distinction a source of sexual
indulgence. The question is not, then, shall they
know it? but, from whom shall they get their
knowledge—from those who would keep their hearts
pure, and have them associate the distinction
of sex and its great purposes with all that is
pure and noble in manhood, or from those who will
teach them to associate it with all that is mean,
shameful and degrading? There is no other alterna-
tive. The knowledge they will have. Shall it be
of that kind which shall purify and elevate, or
pollute and degrade them? The only way to save
human beings from solitary and social abuses of
the sexual nature is, to instruct them as early as
possible, as to the nature and use of the sexual
functions, and as soon as they are capable of
learning anything respecting their physical and
social nature, what is the nature and true design
of this distinction of sex. Let them be taught,
openly and promiscuously, in a way that shall be-
get in them a feeling of respect for a distinction so
identified with the perpetuity and perfection of the
race, and with all reasonable hopes of the triumph
of truth over error, of right over wrong. My only
hope of salvation from the physical, mental and
moral diseases and pollutions that now afflict hu-
man beings, is in the distinction of sex, and the
endearing relations, the purifying and elevating
influences, that grow out of this distinction. From
the day of life, let children be taught, in the family,
in the school, in the church, and through the press,
to regard the marriage and parental relations that
are based on this distinction as the most sacred,
potential and enduring of all human relations.—
Let them be taught to reverence the natural laws
that govern it, as the most sacred and binding of
all the laws of God, inasmuch as on obedience to
them depend the organization, character and des-
tiny of man now, and in the great future. Let
boys and girls understand their natures, as males
and females, and the relations which, by reason of
this distinction, they are in with each other, and
to all future generations, as fathers and mothers.
Then their curiosity ceases. They will understand
the process by which they are created, so far as it
can be known. Their thoughts will not dwell upon
it anxiously; they will feel no excitement about it;
they will be content to let it alone, and to occupy
itself, as associated with truth, with purity and
delicacy, with all manly and womanly feeling, and
never with shame and pollution. Then, when
prompted by Nature to become husbands and wives,
fathers and mothers, they will do so naturally,
knowing and appreciating the beauty and sublimity
of these relations, and lovingly and reverently
meeting the responsibilities and discharging the
duties imposed by them. Ignorance in regard to
the sexual element in human nature, and its great
object and abuses, has been the source of more crime
and misery, and a greater hindrance to the progress
and elevation of mankind, than ignorance on any
other subject.

THE WARD CASE.

The Press, all over the country, regard the Ward
trial as a far more important event than such. It
was brought to its conclusion by a combined moral
and social influence, wherein 'big men' figured, and
'rich men' paid the piper. Alas! that it should be
so! But it will tell its story, and teach its
lesson—and will be put yet to this foul conduct
in old Kentucky? For the people there know what
justice is, and will see it.

The case, simply stated, stands thus: The
younger Ward is punished in school, for falsehood
and other misconduct. It was not pretended that
the punishment was unduly severe or cruel; but
the pride of the address was wounded, and the
members were thus publicly disgraced. He re-
pairs to his brother; tells his story. They arm;
they take pistols, and knives as well; they march
into the school room; they abuse poor Butler,
when, in reply to their bitter and burning words
of denunciation, he asks mildly to explain; they
brand him as a liar, and because he refused to in-
dignation—not anger—they shoot him dead—and
a Kentucky jury says this is all right! If a me-
chanic had acted thus, what would have been his
fate? Or if some poor boy, upon greater provoca-
tion, had gone into Ward's room and shot him,
what would have been his fate? No jury would
have committed that act of Ward upon the poor
schoolmaster at Louisville.

Prof. Butler was a young man of education from
the North, who had resided for some years at Lou-
isville, as a classical teacher; a part of the time as
a private tutor in the family of the Wards, with
whom he had continued to hold his position, until
by his private virtues and worth, added to his
accomplishments as a scholar and teacher,
his general intelligence and gentlemanly man-
ners, he had won a large circle of warm friends
among the most intelligent classes at Louisville,
and was generally popular.

Excitement at Louisville.

Excitement was high in Louisville on Saturday.
Lawyer Wolfe's house was assailed, and as one of
the attorneys for the prisoner, he was burnt in
effigy.

The indignation against Mr. Crittenden was very
strong. It broke out in every place, public and
private. A letter from an old friend of his says,
'He has done himself immense injury by defending
the Wards—he cannot recover.'

'To the People of Louisville.'

I have heard it stated that there are entertained
some doubts of violence will be committed in this
community, which is so justly incensed on account of the
infamous verdict of a Hardin County Jury. Hoping
that, on account of my connection with the dead, I
may have some influence in this matter, I take the liberty
of addressing to the community a letter, pointing
out a few facts. In addition to the injury which has
been done to all, I have lost a brother who was dear
to me as the spoke of my eye—a brother in whom I never
saw a fault from childhood to death.

The Cincinnati Gazette, of Tuesday, copies from
the Louisville Courier and Democrat of the previous
day, a full account of the great meeting held in
that city on Saturday evening, to express the in-
dignation of the people at the extraordinary verdict
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